

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY



3 1761 02741373 1

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AN APPEAL TO FACTS AND PRINCIPLES

SARCIVS
SARCIVS
SARCIVS

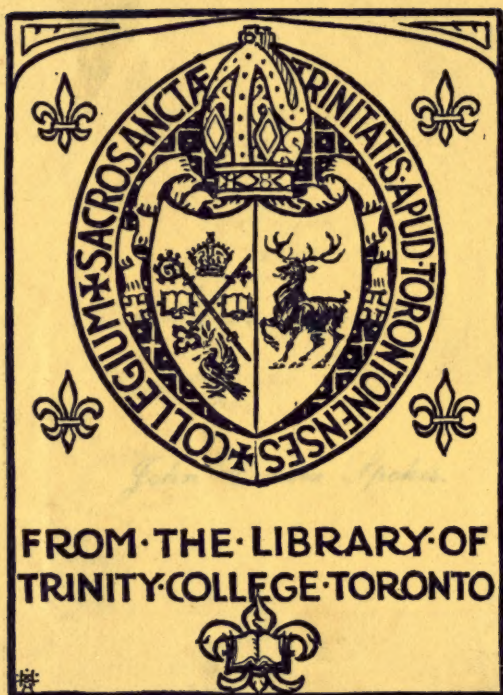
W. C. L. NEWBOLT

AND

DARWELL STONE

31
48

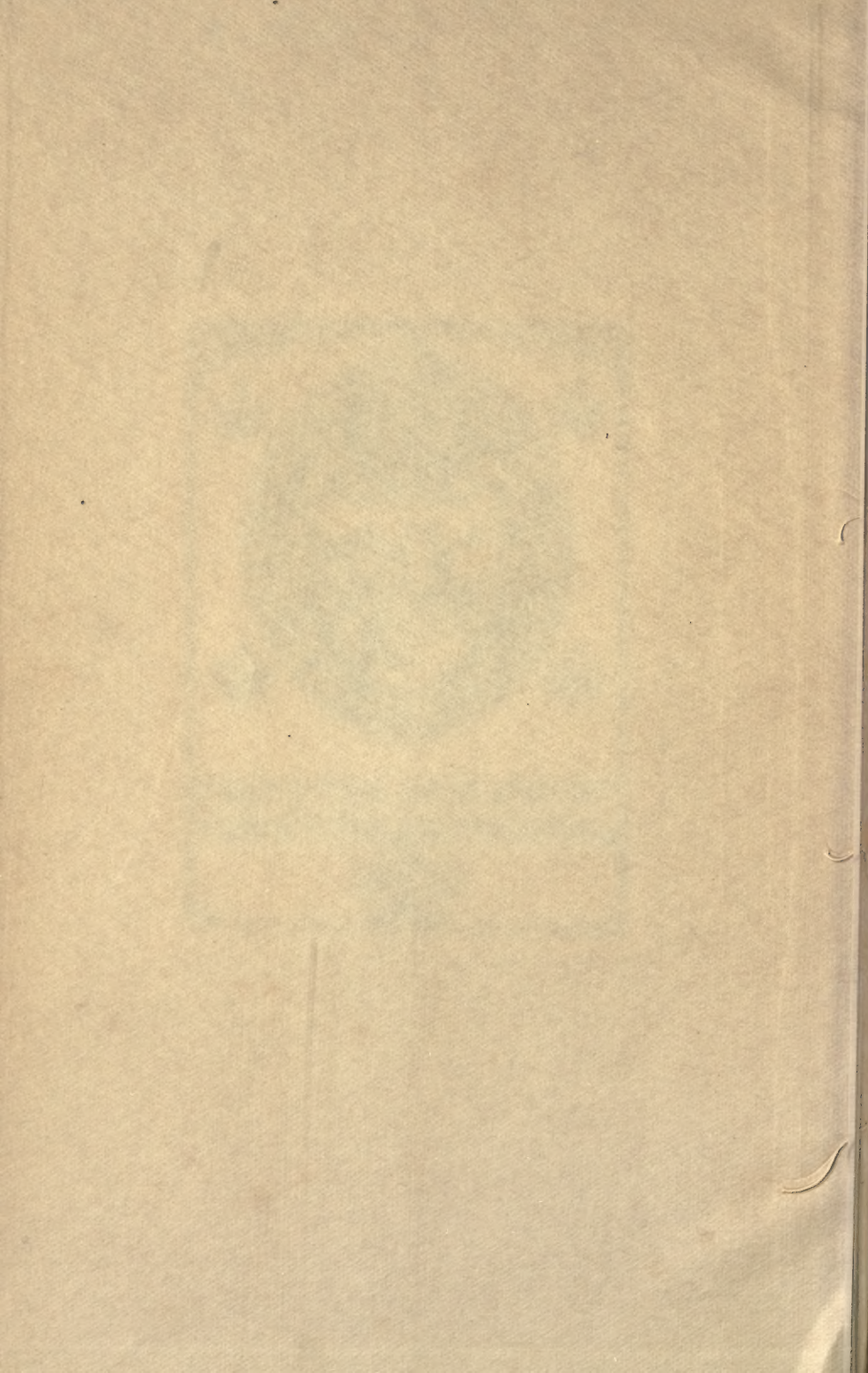
IN



J. C. S. from H. E. L.

15. 10. 10.

6. 50



By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A.,

Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

RELIGION. Crown 8vo, 5s. (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

APOSTLES OF THE LORD: being Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology, delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, Lent Term, 1901. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

WORDS OF EXHORTATION: Sermons preached at St. Paul's and elsewhere. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

PRIESTLY IDEALS: being a Course of Practical Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral to "Our Society" and other Clergy in Lent, 1898. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

PRIESTLY BLEMISHES; or, Some Secret Hindrances to the Realisation of Priestly Ideals. A Sequel: being a Second Course of Practical Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral to "Our Society" and other Clergy in Lent, 1902. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

THE DIAL OF PRAYER: being Devotions for every hour for those who would wish to live near to God. Fcap. 8vo, 2s.

THE GOSPEL OF EXPERIENCE; or, the Witness of Human Life to the Truth of Revelation. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1895. Crown 8vo, 5s.

COUNSELS OF FAITH AND PRACTICE. Crown 8vo, 5s.

SPECULUM SACERDOTUM; or, The Divine Model of the Priestly Life. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

PENITENCE AND PEACE: being Addresses on the 51st and 23rd Psalms. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT: being Ten Addresses on the Spiritual Life. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

THE MAN OF GOD: being Six Addresses delivered during Lent, 1886. Small 8vo, 1s. 6d.

THE PRAYER BOOK: Its Voice and Teaching. Being Spiritual Addresses bearing on the Book of Common Prayer. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

CONSOLIDATION: an Address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the English Church Union on 1st June, 1897. Royal 8vo, 1s. (*Alcuin Club Tracts.*)

By the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A.,

Principal of Dorchester Missionary College.

HOLY BAPTISM. Crown 8vo, 5s. (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

OUTLINES OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

CHRIST AND HUMAN LIFE: Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral in January, 1901; together with a Sermon on "The Fatherhood of God." Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

OUTLINES OF MEDITATIONS FOR USE IN RETREAT. Fcp. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS. An Article Reprinted, with slight Additions, from the *Church Quarterly Review*. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.

Edited by the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's;
and the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College.

Crown 8vo, price 5s. each Volume.

- RELIGION.** By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. [Fifth Impression.]
- HOLY BAPTISM.** By the Rev. D. STONE, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. [Third Edition.]
- CONFIRMATION.** By the Right Rev. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. [Third Impression.]
- THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.** By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford. [Third Edition.]
- HOLY MATRIMONY.** By the Rev. W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon of Worcester. [Second Edition.]
- THE INCARNATION.** By the Rev. H. V. S. ECK, M.A., Rector of Bethnal Green. [Second Edition.]
- FOREIGN MISSIONS.** By the Right Rev. E. T. CHURTON, D.D., formerly Bishop of Nassau.
- PRAYER.** By the Rev. ARTHUR JOHN WORLEDGE, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro. [Second Edition.]
- SUNDAY.** By the Rev. W. B. TREVELYAN, M.A., Vicar of St. Matthew's, Westminster. [Second Edition.]
- THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION.** By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford.
- BOOKS OF DEVOTION.** By the Rev. CHARLES BODINGTON, Canon and Treasurer of Lichfield.
- HOLY ORDERS.** By the Rev. A. R. WHITHAM, M.A., Principal of Culham College, Abingdon.
- THE CHURCH CATECHISM THE CHRISTIAN'S MANUAL.** By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. [In the press.]
- THE HOLY COMMUNION.** By the Rev. D. STONE, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. [In preparation.]
- RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL.** By the Rev. WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection. [In preparation.]
- VISITATION OF THE SICK.** By the Rev. E. F. RUSSELL, M.A., of St. Alban's, Holborn. [In preparation.]
- CHURCH WORK.** By the Rev. BERNARD REYNOLDS, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. [In preparation.]
- CHURCH HISTORY.** By the Rev. H. N. BATE, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford. 2 vols. [In preparation.]
- OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.** By the Very Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. [In preparation.]
- NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.** By the Rev. R. J. KNOWLING, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London. [In preparation.]

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO
LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AN APPEAL TO FACTS AND
PRINCIPLES

BY

THE REV. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A.

CANON AND CHANCELLOR OF ST. PAUL'S

AND

THE REV. DARWELL STONE, M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF DORCHESTER MISSIONARY COLLEGE

Editors of "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology"

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1903

All rights reserved

113769

MAY 26 1983

INTRODUCTORY

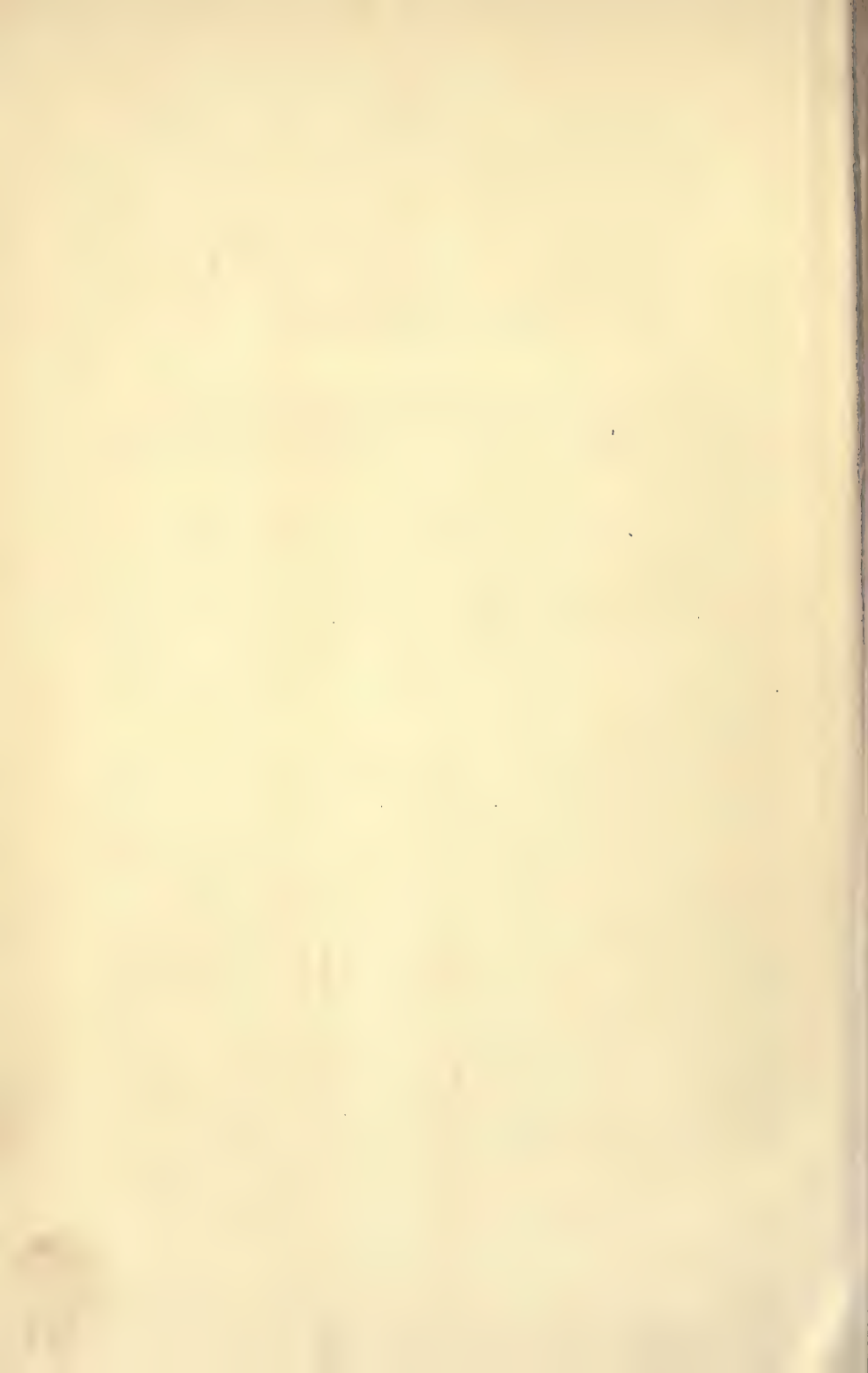
THE Oxford Library of Practical Theology, with which we are associated as editors, has set itself to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of Religion in a simple and readable form.

The remarkable and sympathetic favour with which the volumes of that series have been received, has led us to believe that a plain and short statement of what we conceive to be the position of the English Church, in the unrest and suspicion so unhappily prevalent, will not be unacceptable at the present moment. We have endeavoured as far as possible to put our view of the case in a positive rather than in a protesting and polemical manner.

There are plenty of controversialists ready to say what they are not, and what they hold to be untrue, but not so many who are ready to say what they are, and what they believe and why they believe it. It is hoped that the matter here discussed will form the subject of a fuller and more completely developed treatment in a volume of the Library at some future time.

In the meanwhile this pamphlet is put forth for a particular purpose at a particular moment, to show, if possible, that the spirit of the great Oxford Movement is still working among us as a real incentive to healthy development; and to recall men's minds, if it may be, to the wonderful position and privilege which they hold, who, if they are Catholics first, are also Anglicans, and heirs to the great heritage which that name implies, and trustees of the privileges which it enshrines.

W. C. E. N.
D. S.



THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

I.

THE age in which we live seems to be an age of great unsettlement. In every direction first principles are being called in question, and to claim any prescriptive right for any belief, however venerable, is at once to challenge doubt and inquiry.

Here in England it would seem to many as if the death of her late Majesty Queen Victoria marked the closing of an era when as yet respect was shown to certain well-attested traditions and certain well-grounded principles of faith and action; and as if now with a new century we were entering on a new state of affairs altogether, wherein all things were being cast into the great seething-pot of testing and criticism, to emerge in a shape which we hardly dare to forecast, and with what loss in the process it is impossible to foretell.

The most disturbing feature in the outlook, to those who remember the former days, is the lack of guiding principles and of directing authority. The old test of *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, seems only to act as an irritant, and to show that there are still some privileged beliefs, trading on their supposed inaccessibility to human intellect, which must forthwith be scaled.

The gradual sapping of popular belief in the Bible under the solvent of criticism,¹ in spite of the assurances that it is now a more valuable book than it was before, has had a profound effect on the stability of the public mind. The dethronement

¹ See as an independent corroboration of this statement, "The Crisis in the Church," by Viscount Halifax, *The Nineteenth Century*, April, 1903, p. 553.

of the national reverence for Sunday has also had its own disquieting influence in preparing the public mind to discredit mere privilege whenever it is seen. And so it is with less of a shock that men wake up to find the Creeds attacked, and the belief in vital truths connected with the Incarnation and Resurrection impugned. A proposal to re-state Christianity in the terms of modern thought, would seem to be rather natural than otherwise, and to fit in with the new order which prevails in a new century and in a world which science seems practically to have reconstructed.

The Church ought surely to be the rallying-point amidst all these conflicting and surging eddies, which may represent the chaos before a new creation, or the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep before another flood. It has been the boast of the Church that she is the pillar and ground of the Truth ; that she holds the great deposit, the faith once for all delivered to the Saints ; that she keeps in her custody certain things which she cannot throw into the intellectual maelstrom ; that she is the custodian of that particular irritant, as it seems to modern thought, a revelation from on high. But as we have already seen, it is just here that the waves leap with their most engulfing force ; and among the open questions of the day are not only the credibility of much of the deposit which she professes to hold from God, but also the authenticity of her claims to be the depositary, teacher, and defender of the Faith.

It is no new thing for the Church to be assailed by the forces of unbelief—that is not a peculiarity of the new century or the outcome of new ideas. It is no new thing for the Church once more, to be called in question by the Protestant sects, and, those who agree with them from within the Church itself. The new and disquieting feature which characterizes the present time is the growth of ideas among those who are the most ardent defenders of the Church, which can only tend to subvert and make impossible the position hitherto held by the Church in this land as the bulwark of the Faith, and as the chosen representative of the religious life of the nation.

This conception of the Church was the motive principle of

the Tractarian revival of religion, to recover and restore to the nation the submerged truth of Christ's kingdom on earth, in contradistinction to those views or opinions which would look upon the Church as a sort of forcing-house for favoured individuals, or as a department of the State. And equally the Tractarians had no sort of doubt as to the reality and position of the English Church. Anglicanism had a definite meaning for them, not as adding another "ism" to the ecclesiastical Babel, but as representing a very definite position, the result of very exceptional circumstances—a position in which they found themselves placed in the good providence of God, and one which had never yet been developed in its strategic importance, and which represented a pivot on which, with patience and as the reward of faithfulness, might turn even the reunion of Christendom.

They would have endorsed the words of the memorial printed in the Appendix:¹ "The immediate authority with which, as English Churchmen, we have to do is that of the English Church, not that of the Roman or the Gallican or any other Church. However warm may be our interest in those Churches, as individual English Catholics we no more look, or ought to look, to the authority of the Roman or of the Gallican Church, than an Italian or a French Catholic looks, or ought to look, to the authority of the English Church."

The English Church, in other words, voices to us the Catholic Church, appeals to us in clear tones, emphasizing a definite position, claims to have made such alterations, as were made, with a certain end in view, with her eye on the Primitive Church, and with a determination to preserve all laudable practices of the whole Catholic Church. It can hardly be disputed that this represented not only the teaching of the great Caroline divines, but also of the Tractarian leaders of the last century. Our difficulties arise now from the fact that this attitude is not accepted, and that in its place has arisen the dangerous and anomalous contention that the English Church, or rather the Church in England, is committed to an untenable position; that she only represents so many dioceses of the Western

¹ See p. 50.

Church, and may well be arraigned on the charge of schism ; that she parted with certain things at the Reformation which she had no right to part with, and betrays generally a stiffness in accepting certain foreign developments which are of a missionary value, and branded with a Catholic stamp ; and therefore it is the duty of all those who owe allegiance to the Catholic Church, to ignore all the peculiarities and crotchets of a pseudo-Anglicanism, and to take advantage of troublous times to make a series of expeditions into the regions of pure Catholicism, and annex privately such portions of the heritage as those who live in England seem to have been deprived of, to dwell in them, to obtain squatters' rights, and then at last by persistence and threats, to obtain Episcopal recognition and public toleration for their annexations. The result of this policy has been and must be disastrous ; in grasping at the shadow of "Catholic privileges," we have lost the essential principle of Catholicism, "obedience to authority."

If it be true, and it may be true, that the Church of England in asserting her independence allowed herself to be severed too completely from the rest of Western Christendom, the way towards a better understanding is not the way of individual desertion, or actions which are barely distinguishable from profound distrust of, and dislike to, the body in which the individual finds himself placed.

If it be true, and it may be true, that at the Reformation truth and error were thrust aside together, and that we then lost many precious things which as sons of the Catholic Church we would have wished to retain, still it is not open to an individual or individuals to reclaim these things by private enterprise.

"Nothing can have valid ecclesiastical authority for English Churchmen which the English Church has never received or authorized.

"It follows also that, while confessedly the Church of England is bound in respect of doctrine by continuous Catholic consent and Œcumenic decrees, no variable rite or ceremony can have valid authority for English Churchmen, which the English Church has definitely repudiated, whether explicitly or by

implication, even though it may at one time have had the authority of that Church.

"Nor can it be claimed that disciplinary rules or usages, merely because they have for a time obtained in other parts of the Church, or in all the Churches of the West, or even throughout the whole Church, have thereby acquired for themselves the authority of the Catholic Church in such a sense that a national Church cannot set them aside for her own members."¹

So no doctrine propounded and permanently accepted by the whole Church can be wrong; but it is quite possible for a wrong practice founded on a right doctrine to penetrate universally for a time in spite of individual and local protest, so that there may be even abuses with a semblance of Catholic claim. No individual can possibly save, as he believes, the Catholicity of the Church in England by supplementing her supposed deficiencies out of "the whole Catholic Church," while he remains in her ranks. No officer, for instance, who conceived the use of dum-dum bullets to be contrary to the Convention of Geneva and the usage of civilized nations, could satisfy himself by simply substituting other bullets for the use of his own regiment, while, at the same time he retained his commission in his Majesty's army. The question has to be decided higher up. The Government which issues the bullets is in fault. As long as he serves the Government he must obey the commanding officer, whose is the responsibility, as long as he orders nothing contrary to the King's regulations. The Prayer-book, in the preface, practically says that the Church of England has abolished no œcumenical custom. If A or B thinks that she has so abolished a laudable practice, it is not open to him to correct the Church of England in that particular, any more than a Roman priest who conscientiously objected to refuse the chalice to the laity, could supplement his defective Catholicity from the Anglican or Eastern Churches and yet remain in the Roman obedience. It is the Church in the exercise of her collective authority who must decide these things. And that is the point to which all effort should be directed, how to secure

¹ See Appendix A, p. 50.

the expression of the living voice of the Church, instead of in the direction of individual reformation.

It may, however, be contended that we owe nearly all the advantages we have gained to individual enterprise, often undertaken in the teeth of constituted authority. To which it may be answered that, in the first place, there was no conception in the minds of the Oxford leaders that it was competent to them to take over any doctrine or practice which was not to be found in the authorized system of the English Church. Their advance was not in the face of authority, but in the face of the holders and representatives of authority, who ignored or repudiated the authority which they unquestionably possessed. The Tractarian objective was the assertion of, and the securing, those Catholic rights and privileges which the Church of England claimed never to have parted with and most firmly to maintain, not the right to hold as individuals that which the Church had once repudiated, or to develop in regions where the Church gave no lead.

It may further be doubted whether the advantages secured by private enterprise have been so conspicuous as they are asserted to be. English people have learnt to tolerate certain things which once roused them to frenzy and riot, from the surplice in the pulpit to the Eucharistic vestments, but correspondingly they have not learnt to desire instruction, but to despise sermons; neither as a body do they appreciate the Eucharistic sacrifice, however much many of them may rejoice in the accessories which symbolize that doctrine.

It is quite open to any one to say that the victories won in persistent opposition to the bishops have been dearly won, and that the fault has been by no means, all of it, on the side of the bishops. Certainly no one can say that the course of the Catholic movement, as it is called, has been a happy one; the positions have been carried at tremendous loss, a party has been pushed through like a wedge driven broadside foremost, and in some cases hopeless indifference has been mistaken for acquiescence, and a chasuble and Eucharistic lights accepted as compensations for an attenuated flock which has been either starved or overdriven. Can any one say that the education and

spiritual attainments of the people, even when they are not actively hostile, are up to the same level as the outward symbols of advance? Restored ritual and restored Catholicity have not gone hand-in-hand, and the reason is that the sense of authority has been weakened by opposition to the bishops, and that ritual and doctrinal changes have been accepted in too many cases, out of deference to the wishes of a popular priest, as part of "his way," which, with many other things, must be put up with; while in other cases a violent outbreak of Protestant fanaticism merely means that the unpopular "ways" of a priest generally disliked have been assailed at the point of least resistance. The whole of the later developments of the Catholic revival are characterized by the weakness which always waits on individualism. It would surely seem to be of the most vital importance to recall men's minds to a truer and more dignified conception of the English Church as such, not as something to be apologized for, minimized, or even ridiculed, but in the spirit of those who would say, *Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει*.

She has a history; she is an entity of her own even as part of the Church Catholic; she has an extraordinary position in the world, and a great future if faithful, a great downfall if she is false to her opportunity.

It is never a good sign when a man is ashamed of his mother; it is doubly disgraceful in times of stress and trial, and therefore it is of somewhat sinister omen that a determined attempt should be made to belittle her claims and taunt her with her isolation.

What, for instance, are we to say to the position now maintained in some quarters, and alluded to above, that the Church of England is practically a nonentity? We have been told quite recently in a pamphlet,¹ which is not the least distressing feature of one of the most distressing episodes which have characterized the late revival of Church life in England, "By the phrase 'the English Church,' or 'the Church of England,' is to be understood only and solely those dioceses of the one Holy Catholic Church which are geographically situated in England. Those dioceses are grouped into the two provinces of Canterbury

¹ Evans, *Why I left St. Michael's*, pp. 21, 22.

and York, just as other dioceses in other parts of Christendom are grouped into provinces in accordance with the ancient discipline of the Church. The English Church is in all respects, as regards faith and discipline and usages, subject to the whole of the Catholic Church, and may not dissociate herself therefrom in any of these particulars." If this only means that the Church of England is a part of the Catholic Church, and not a new or an insular foundation; if it means that she is bound by the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, and by the conciliar decrees of the whole Church, well and good. It is only an awkward way of expressing a truism which nobody should wish to deny. It may be noticed, however, even here, that œcumenical customs have not always been followed in all parts of the Church.¹

If, on the other hand, it is to be understood as asserting that there is no such body as the National Church of England, or, indeed, that there are no such things as national churches, what becomes of the long and chequered history of the English Church in its struggle with the Papacy? And on what grounds is it possible to defend the position taken up at the Reformation, which Dean Church describes in principle as "the independence of the National Church, the repudiation of superstition and corruption," as that of which part was final, while "part could not be accomplished at once,"² and perhaps, indeed, has not been accomplished yet? Is the same author to be disbelieved when he says, "It (the Reformation) substituted boldly and confidently, in place of the rejected authority of the Pope, the authority equally undefined of the Crown, presumed to be loyally Christian and profoundly religious, and always acting in concert with the Church and its representatives"?³

If the Anglican Communion, again, consists of only two provinces, what becomes of the Churches of Ireland and Scotland, Australia and North America?

Surely the duty which the Church of England owes to the rest of the Catholic Episcopate, East and West, was carefully and

¹ See Appendix B, p. 54.

² Church, *Pascal and Other Sermons*, p. 65.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

anxiously considered when the great rupture took place at the Reformation. And again and again the assertion is made in her formularies that in no essential feature was any departure made from the faith and practice of the whole Church. But equally it would be in contravention of her appeal to the Scriptures and the Primitive Church if she were to believe herself bound to follow every twist and turn of modern development, on the pain of being decatholicized, and of being regarded as wilfully indifferent to what the rest of Christendom believes and teaches. By all means let us have *quod ubique, quod ab omnis*, but we are pledged irrevocably to *quod semper*.¹

It has been said with great truth, "The Catholic Church is neither a phantom nor a ruin, but a solid and accessible reality. It is composed of various local churches, and the authority of the Church in matters of doctrine depends on the consensus and agreement of these Churches. The members of this Catholic Church have often differed and disputed. Some have excluded others from communion with them. . . . We regard the consensus of the Church as a living force. In bygone times it collected the books of the New Testament, it set its seal to the Creeds, it continued to speak in the genuine councils of the Church. It still says 'Yes,' and it still says 'No.' On all the most vital points of doctrine its meaning is perfectly clear and intelligible. And where it is not yet clear, no Christian may anticipate the action of the Holy Spirit by representing his opinion as necessary to be believed. The same rule applies to each National Church."²

A fuller examination into the history of the English Church will exhibit in clearer colours the strength of the position here claimed for her. The dignity which she now possesses, and the devoted allegiance which she is able to command from the thousands of her sons and daughters, have not been secured by timid apologists only conscious of isolation and astounded at their own audacity. The history here epitomized is the history

¹ For a clear statement of the teaching of Roman Catholic divines of standing on the necessity of the "*quod semper*," see Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, Appendix M (edition 3).

² Pullan, *The Christian Tradition*, pp. 206, 207.

of a continuous policy and a determined attitude that, whether in relation to King or Pope, in the words of the great Charter, *Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*. And no one who is ignorant of it, or who wilfully shuts his eyes to facts, can appreciate the precise relation of the Church of England to divided Christendom, or the possibilities which may yet open up to her of paving the way for reunion.

II.

IT would be a sorry task to attempt to minimize any of the elements to which the Christianity of the English nation is due. The old British strain, derived perhaps from Gaul, and through Gaul from Italy, may have contributed something. The Roman missions of Augustine and Birinus, and the Burgundian mission of Felix, did much. The Celtic evangelists, Aidan and his successors, supplied invaluable qualities. The words, "Not Augustine, but Aidan, is the true apostle of England,"¹ have seemed to many one of the very few unjust sentences which their illustrious author ever penned. Yet to forget the splendid work of the missionaries from Iona would be as ungrateful as to ignore the debt which is owed to Rome.

It is unnecessary here to tell again the oft-told story of the struggle between the Celtic and the Roman usages, and the triumph of the latter at the Conference held at Whitby in 664. Magnificent as the energy and the success of the Celts had been, the time had come when forces other than theirs were imperatively needed. "A Church moulded on the Celtic type," wrote Dr. Bright, "could never have sufficed for the needs of England."² If that great historian was right in discerning ill results of the "Latin temper," he added to his statement of the limitations and weakness of the Irish Church the judgment that "the Latinizing process gave system and order, and organized and concentrated force, and a certain magnificence which could symbolize devotion, and teach great lessons through the imagination, and overawe rough natures as by the visible presence of a Kingdom supreme over lord and ceorl alike."³

The closer association with the rest of Western Christendom, which was due to the results of the Conference at Whitby and

¹ Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 9; cf. p. 11.

² Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 232 (edition 3).

³ Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

the rule of Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop of Canterbury, left to the Church in England a considerable measure of independent power. When Wilfrid returned from Rome in 680 with a papal bull reversing the action of Archbishop Theodore, the authority of the decree was disregarded by the king and nobles and bishops of Northumbria and the Archbishop of Canterbury alike. In a later stage of the same controversy, the more cautious letter of Pope John VI. for some time led to no result ; and was only partially complied with at the Northumbrian Council of the Nidd in 706. Councils variously constituted and of varying degrees of authority continued to be held without any acts of the See of Rome initiating their proceedings or ratifying their decisions.

Yet it must not be supposed that such independent action implied any rejection by the Church in England of the special position and claims of the Pope. It is probable that no considerable number of persons in Western Christendom would have questioned the primacy, and in some sense the supremacy, of "the See of Peter" either in 700 or in 1400 A.D. When Wilfrid in the seventh and eighth centuries, and Anselm in the eleventh and twelfth, made their appeals to Rome, they were but giving clear effect to principles held to a greater or less extent by the clergy and laity in general. To the English mind the crown had its rights ; the nobles and people, the bishops and clergy, had theirs ; the Pope had his. The king's courts had their own authority ; those of the Church had theirs also ; in the latter, if the theory which Professor Maitland has done much to establish is true, the general canon law of the West, which turned on the supreme position of the Pope, was held to be binding.

"We find during the whole of the Middle Ages," wrote Mr. Wakeman, "or during some part of them, the acknowledged prerogative of the crown in ecclesiastical matters included the right to decide which of two or more rival candidates for the Papacy should be acknowledged, the right to refuse admission to the country of papal legates, the right to refuse to allow appeals to go to Rome, the right to sanction the meeting of ecclesiastical assemblies, to regulate ecclesiastical jurisdiction,

to appoint archbishops and bishops, to check papal taxation and papal patronage, to outlaw and punish clergy who obeyed the Pope rather than the king in matters relating to taxation and patronage.”¹ King and barons, as well as metropolitans and bishops, had much to do with the affairs of the Church. But, to quote Mr. Wakeman again, “English kings in the Middle Ages never claimed to have in themselves the power to administer the affairs of the Church, to make spiritual laws, to decide spiritual cases, to be the source of spiritual jurisdiction, any more than they claimed the power to discharge spiritual duties.”² And, in all this work of spiritual law and spiritual jurisdiction, it appears to have been usually recognized in England, as in the rest of the West, that to be out of communion with Rome would be an altogether abnormal state, and that the Pope, as the possessor of “the See of Peter,” had rights and authority which, to all intents and purposes, might be regarded as supreme.

It has been customary with some writers to defend the present position of the Church of England on the ground of her original foundation by St. Paul, or of her earliest existence being derived from the East, or of her independence during the Middle Ages of the See of Rome. Such contentions have become increasingly difficult for those who will face the facts of history. It is better, as it is more honest, to allow that, whatever may have come from other sources, the debt which the Church of England owes to Rome is very great; and that, while important practical differences resulted from national character and insular position and distance from Italy, the idea of an island Church living a life of its own apart from Rome would have been little more in harmony with English thought than with belief elsewhere in the West at any time later than St. Gregory the Great. If the position of the Church of England since the Reformation is to be justified at all, it will need to be on stronger grounds and on deeper principles than any found in arguments such as those to which reference has been made.

¹ Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, pp. 316, 317.

² Wakeman, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

III.

AMONG the causes which led to the Reformation in England, as in Europe generally, was the moral revolt against evils which the Popes had failed to check. In the thirteenth century, so convinced a believer in the privileges of the Pope as Robert Grosseteste did not scruple to say that the responsibility for most grievous corruption lay with the Court of Rome. In the fourteenth century, the subtle and paradoxical opinions of Wyclif were largely due to a sense of moral wrongs. Of the fifteenth century it has been said by a brilliant Roman Catholic author, Dr. William Barry, that, as "an era of transition," "it exhibits violent contrasts" "between a piety which was fruitful in good works and a worldliness which has never been surpassed."¹ Of the sixteenth century, another learned writer, Dr. H. C. Lea, says that "the abuses under which Christendom groaned" "in the sixteenth century" "were too inveterate, too firmly entrenched, and too profitable to be removed by any but the sternest and sharpest remedies."² Popes, as Martin V. and Eugenius IV., and Councils, as those of Constance and Basle, had indeed made serious attempts at reformation in morals. The small or but short-lived results made men wonder or doubt whether anything effective could be done by the rulers of the Church to grapple with evils which, after their wont, seemed to tower above and hide out of sight real good.

With the moral revolt was joined in England a political movement. Since the time of William the Conqueror at least there had been jealousy of Rome as a foreign power. The extortionate and oppressive policy carried out in the name of the Papacy in the thirteenth and following centuries had created

¹ *The Cambridge Modern History*, i. 621.

² *Op. cit.*, i. 691.

widespread resentment. When Henry VIII. quarrelled with the Pope about his marriage relations, there lay ready to his hand a national feeling of which he was ruler enough to make full use. If it was thought that the Popes had failed to carry out needed moral reforms, it was felt also that the papal system, as it had come to be, was injurious to the national life. It is possible to echo Mr. Wakeman's condemnation that Henry VIII. "had taught himself to trample upon the most sacred rights of faithful wedded life, to condescend to the meanest subterfuges and tricks in his warfare against a defenceless woman, to treat points and presumptions of law as if they decided questions of personal morals;"¹ and yet to recognize that the policy which began with the king's lust gave utterance, in the circumstances of the time, to the deeply and widely felt discontent which injustice had bred.

To the political movement and the moral revolt were added, again, intellectual demands. Long before the sixteenth century, indeed, some elements in the approved scholastic theology had been rudely challenged. In the fourteenth century, the Dominicans John of Paris and Durandus of St. Pourçain in France, the Franciscan William of Occam in France and England, and John Wyclif in England, had protested in widely differing ways against current beliefs. But, as the revival of learning gathered force through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the beginning of the sixteenth, it began to speak to the theologians with a more imperative voice. "Not in literature or in art alone," says Sir Richard Jebb, "but in every form of intellectual activity, the Renaissance opened a new era for mankind."² If it is true, as Dr. M. R. James has said, that Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon "were the two men who, to all appearance, first realized the scientific needs of the Church,"³ that which they began in the thirteenth century in the critical study of Holy Scripture and historical theology had come to be widely influential in the early years of the sixteenth century. It was inevitable that the studies of such

¹ Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, p. 210.

² *The Cambridge Modern History*, i. 584.

³ *Op. cit.*, i. 585.

men as Selling and Lilly, Linacre and Grocyn, should raise many questions as well as promote research.

The historical methods of the present day have discredited much in the highly coloured pictures which used to be current of the sloth, and ignorance, and degradation, and hostility to the Papacy in England before the Reformation. It is impossible now for honest students to repeat much which once passed muster as history. But among the facts which research leaves to us is the failure of the Court of Rome to deal adequately with any one of the moral and political and intellectual movements which undoubtedly existed.

This failure was one of the causes which led to the form which the Reformation actually took. It is conceivable that greater insight and moral force on the part of the Popes might have prevented the divisions which ensued in Western Christendom ; and that, if the policy which issued in the Council of Trent had prevailed in a somewhat more liberal form one hundred years or more earlier, a reformed Papacy might have retained the allegiance of many whom the Papacy as it was lost.

"Viewed as a whole," said Archdeacon Perry, "the Reformation was a chequered movement made up of good and evil."¹ Certainly, the evil may be seen plainly enough in England. The English Church was outwardly separated from the Church abroad. High ideals of spiritual life and devotion, which the mediæval Church with all its blemishes had not ceased to hold up before the eyes of men, were imperilled and, at least partially and for a time, lost. The strange fancies and distorted notions of Anabaptists and Puritans played havoc in many quarters, and did not leave the formularies of the Church of England unmarked. The long period of the Reformation is full of controversial writings, which, in the unfairness of their arguments and the scandalous character of their language, are simply a disgrace.

The recognition of the evil leads to gratitude for the good. The study of the history of the English Reformation may well promote a sense of the power of the providence of God. The more the recklessness, the unbelief, the unscrupulousness, the

¹ Perry, *A History of the English Church*, ii. 12.

greed of many who took part in it are observed, the more wonderful is the preservation of truth and grace in the Church of England seen to be.

The present Bishop of Oxford has said that "on equal loyalty to the unconflicting rights of reason, of Scripture, and of tradition rest the distinctive strength and hope of the English Church."¹ This threefold appeal is to be found even in those writings of English Churchmen which show controversy at its worst. It is made with dignity and learning in books of so high a type as those of Hooker and Andrewes. The divines of 1662 knew what it meant a good deal better than those of 1552; but still it was the appeal of Cranmer as well as of Cosin. The Church herself, in her authorized formularies, has made it not indistinctly. The statement "On Ceremonies" placed at the end of the Prayer-book of 1549 and at the beginning in all the later books, and the Preface added in 1662, show that the compilers aimed at satisfying the requirements of reason. In 1662 the revisers wrote, "Of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all." At an earlier date, in Canon XXX. of the year 1603, it had been said, "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders." The sixth of the Articles of Religion, however open to exception the phraseology of one sentence may be in the light of the fuller historical knowledge which we now possess, appealed to the tradition of

¹ Paget, *An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 226.

the Church as the test of the canonicity of the Books of the Old and New Testament, and said of the canonical writings, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The twentieth Article asserted the supremacy of Holy Scripture and the authority of the Church in the words, "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." The canons drawn up in 1571, which, though Queen Elizabeth refused to sign them in order to revenge herself for the defeat of her resistance to the Act of Subscription of the same year, had the sanction of the bishops of the province of Canterbury in their Convocation, contained an injunction to preachers to "teach nothing in their sermons which they should require to be devoutly held or believed by the people except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of that said doctrine."¹

¹ Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. 126.

IV.

THE appeal made in the English Reformation to Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church involved the following results :—

The central doctrines of the faith were definitely and explicitly maintained. The use of the Apostles' Creed by the Minister and the people in the Morning Prayer and the Evening Prayer on Sundays and week-days was ordered. Profession of belief in the faith expressed in this creed was required as a condition of Baptism either from the godparents, in the case of those baptized as infants, or from the person baptized, if "of riper years." The *Quicunque vult*, with its careful explanations of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, was directed to be sung or said by the Minister and people at Morning Prayer on the great festivals in the Book of 1549, and thirteen times a year in the Book of 1552 and in the later revisions.¹ The use of the lengthened form of the Nicene Creed was commanded at all celebrations of the Holy Communion. It was required that candidates for Confirmation should know the Creed; and in the Catechism provided for their instruction, steps were taken to secure that they could say it by heart and had some understanding of its meaning. The eighth of the Articles of Religion, which the clergy were compelled to subscribe as a condition of ministering in the Church of England, affirmed, "The three creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." Moreover, other Articles declared,

¹ It is unnecessary here to enter into the question of the relation of the earlier English Prayer-books to the English Church, as the Reformation is treated as a process which culminated in 1662; and the Book of Common Prayer of that year certainly had full authority from the Church as well as the State.

in the plainest and most unmistakable terms, the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation : " There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions ; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness ; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity ; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." " The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance ; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhead, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man ; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." " As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that He went down into hell." " Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature ; wherewith He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day." " The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God."

The essential features in the ministry were carefully retained. It is true that the Sub-diaconate and the Orders below it were discontinued, probably partly with a view to practical convenience, and partly with the desire of following as closely as possible the methods of the earliest days of the Church. But it would not be contended by any that these discontinued Orders formed a necessary part of the ministry ; and the most careful pains were taken to preserve the Orders of bishop, priest, and deacon. It was expressly stated in the Preface to the Ordinal that they were of apostolic origin. " It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors that from the apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in Christ's Church — bishops, priests, and

deacons ; which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same ; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority." It was enacted in the same preface that no one should be allowed to minister as a bishop, or priest, or deacon unless he had been consecrated, or ordained, by a bishop. "To the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England ; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly episcopal consecration, or ordination." The Ordinal provided for the making of deacons, the ordering of priests, and the consecration of bishops by the laying on of hands, to those "divers Orders," which, as was said in the Ember Week prayers, "Almighty God" "appointed" to form "the sacred ministry" in the "Universal Church," which He "purchased to" Himself "by the precious blood of" His "dear Son." The prayers directed to be used in each Office specified the Orders to which ordination was made. "Almighty God, who by Thy Divine providence hast appointed divers Orders of ministers in Thy Church, and didst inspire Thine apostles to choose into the Order of deacons the first martyr Saint Stephen, with others ; Mercifully behold these Thy servants now called to the like Office and administration." "Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of ministers in the Church ; Mercifully behold these Thy servants now called to the Office of priesthood." "Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of ministers in Thy Church ; Mercifully behold this Thy servant now called to the work and ministry of a bishop." The words of ordination are no less clear. To each one made a deacon the bishop was ordered to say, "Take thou authority to execute the Office of a deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee ; In the

Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." To each one ordained priest the bishop was directed to say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.¹ Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." To each one consecrated bishop the archbishop was commanded to say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.² And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness."

The historic worship of the Church was preserved. The Order for Morning Prayer and the Order for Evening Prayer were formed, by a process of selection, adaptation, and addition, out of the eight Offices of the old Divine Service. The Orders thus formed were described by the compilers in the Preface "Concerning the Service in the Church," as "much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers." It was their aim that the greater part of Holy Scripture should be read in the course of each year; that the whole of the Psalter should be said every month; that nothing should be read but "the very pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same," "in such a language and order as is most easy and plain to the understanding both of the readers and hearers;" and that there should be "but one use" throughout "all the whole realm." These Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer

¹ The words "for the Office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," were added in the Prayer-book of 1662.

² The words "for the Office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen," were added in the Prayer-book of 1662.

were ordered to be used daily in the Prayer-book of 1549, and all the subsequent Books. The form which this direction took when the Reformation was completed in 1662 was of the most explicit kind. "All priests and deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause. And the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's Word and to pray with him." As the "general supplication" of the Church, the Litany was drawn up for use between the Morning Prayer and the Holy Communion, at first on Wednesdays and Fridays, in the later books on Sundays as well. The Order of Holy Communion, changed a good deal in the different Books, but preserving in all of them the essential features, was based on the historic rites of the Liturgies of the Church. Thus a great system of worship was provided. With the Evening Prayer, as the rules about the collects show, the observance of the day began. The Morning Prayer, with its confession of sin, rendering of thanks, setting forth of praise, hearing of Holy Scripture, and supplications and intercessions, and the Litany, carrying further the work of laying before God the needs of His people, led up to the Holy Communion. Everything in the structure of the Books points to both the Morning Prayer and the Litany being, in their different ways, intended to supply preparation for the Celebration of the Eucharist. That the Holy Communion was intended to maintain its place as the chief act of worship in the Church of England is shown by many facts. It was directed that at this Office the notice of Holy Days and fasting days, and of the Communion, should be given; the Banns of Matrimony published; and Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read. It is the only service at which a sermon was ordered to be preached, or a collection directed to be made. There was a provision in the 1549 Book that, if there should be no one to communicate, the office should be ended without proceeding to the parts specially relating to

Communion ; but this was evidently regarded as exceptional, and a rubric ordered that practical measures should be taken to prevent it, whenever possible. The rubrics of the later Books tended towards making the celebration of the Communion less frequent ; and it is evident that by 1662 it was rare even on Sundays. But the authorized method of the Church's worship, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, has all along remained the same—beginning with the Evening Prayer, passing through the preparation of the Morning Prayer and the supplications of the Litany to the great act of Eucharistic worship, and thus corresponding to the historical system of the Catholic Church.

Further, the Church of England maintained the ordered framework of a supernatural life, sustained by Sacraments and prayer for both the clergy and the laity. The command that all priests and deacons should say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, and that opportunity should be given to the people to join in it, has already been quoted. Baptism, Confirmation, the hallowing of marriage by the blessing of the priest, the visitation of the sick as a sacred act, the burial of the dead as a religious work, had each its place. As to Communion, it was ordered that "in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary ;" "every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one." Rubrics attached to the Collects and to the proper Prefaces contemplated that, at any rate in some places, the Eucharist would be celebrated daily. That Communion might be rightly received and death rightly met, the priest was directed to give an opportunity for Confession and Absolution before Communion and when he visited the sick. In the "warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion" ordered to be used, he was commanded to say, "Because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience ; therefore if there be any of you who, by this means, cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but

requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet or learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick it was provided, "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special Confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which Confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

All this was no light and easy work. The wildest heresies about the Trinity and the Incarnation were prevalent in England. The Puritan forces which were arrayed against the historic system of the Church were at many times very strong. To maintain, as the Church of England did maintain, central truth, an episcopal ministry, Catholic worship, and the setting of the sacramental life, was a work that could hardly have been accomplished apart from the overruling power of the providence of God. It is an instructive task to compare the history of the Protestant bodies on the continent of Europe with that of the English Church.

During the whole period of the Reformation, except the interlude of the reign of Mary, the supremacy of the Pope was denied by the English Church. In 1531 the Convocations, under pressure from King Henry VIII., agreed to the formula, "We acknowledge His Majesty to be the singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, so far as the law of Christ allows, supreme head of the English Church and clergy."¹ It is clear that the clause, "so far as the law of Christ allows," was insisted on by the Convocations for the express purpose of limiting the authority of the king to the temporal affairs of the

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 742.

Church and excluding any spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown. Consequently, the formula agreed to would not necessarily imply any rejection of the spiritual, as distinct from the temporal, jurisdiction of the Pope.¹ But the Convocations in 1534 passed a resolution that "the Bishop of Rome hath not according to Holy Scripture any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop."² As time went on, the papal supremacy came to be generally denied in the English Church. The statement of the thirty-seventh Article of Religion, "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England," sums up the attitude eventually adopted as regards both the temporal and the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope.

This rejection of papal supremacy may have been made at first on very imperfect knowledge of the facts and on a somewhat vague sense that the claims of the Pope would not bear investigation in the light of Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity. Yet it is worth notice that, as Mr. Wakeman pointed out,³ the thirteenth-century work of Marsiglio of Padua against the papal supremacy, *Defensor Pacis*, was reprinted and largely circulated shortly before the proceedings of the Convocations of 1534; and this may imply some careful investigation of the question. At any rate, the controversies which followed led to elaborate investigations and detailed argument on both sides. The researches of the Roman theologians which ensued on the denials of the authority of the Pope, the rise of the Jesuits with their learning and skill, the powerful treatises of Suarez, Bellarmine, and Baronius, called for answers which the English writers of the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. could hardly have given, and led to the substantial work in which the Jacobean and Caroline divines, notably Andrewes and Bramhall, explained and vindicated the Anglican rejection of the supremacy of Rome on the ground that when tried by Scripture and Catholic antiquity the claims

¹ See Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the Monasteries*, p. 365, note 1; *The Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 111-113, 154.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 782.

³ Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, p. 231.

of the Pope were found to be unable to stand the test. In the words of Dean Church, "They opened their eyes and saw that the prerogatives which the Puritans confined to an invisible Church, and which Rome confined to the obedience of the Pope, belonged to the universal historical Church, lasting on with varied fortunes through all the centuries from the days of Pentecost, 'the habitation of God through the Spirit.' Maintaining jealously and stoutly the inherent and indefeasible rights of the National Church of England, and resisting with uncompromising determination the tyranny which absorbed in a single hand the powers of the Church Catholic, they refused to forget, even in England, what God's Spirit had done in other portions of Christendom, perhaps far removed, perhaps for the time bitterly hostile. They learned to pray, as Andrewes did, 'for the Catholic Church, its establishment and increase; for the Eastern, its deliverance and union; for the Western, its adjustment and peace; for the British, the supply of what is wanting in it, the strengthening of that which remains in it.' They recognized the authority of its great and unquestionable decisions. They were willing to appeal to its authority, if it could be expressed legitimately. They introduced, even into controversy, at least to some extent, the habits of discrimination and respect. Their teaching shows how, after the first fever and excitement of the revolt against Roman usurpation had passed, the leaders of the English Church felt that much natural misstatement and exaggeration had to be qualified and corrected; it shows how anxious they were, in accordance with the declared policy of the Reformation, to keep hold on the undivided and less corrupted Church of the early centuries as their standard and guide; it shows how much they found in their increased acquaintance with it, to enrich, to enlarge, to invigorate, to give beauty, proportion, and force to their theology."¹

With the emphatic assertion of what was deemed essential, and the emphatic rejection of the supremacy of the Pope, was joined a policy which came to be characteristic of the Church of England. It was the policy of leaving as open questions very many matters on which there was no conciliar decision of the

¹ Church, *Pascal and Other Sermons*, pp. 91, 92.

Universal Church requiring acceptance of a particular belief under pain of anathema ; of condemning certain extreme positions, and allowing as lawful widely differing opinions which came between them. This policy is seen in its fullest development in the Articles of Religion. The Articles have suffered from being treated controversially. They have been explained without regard being paid to their history. Their technical phrases have been interpreted without knowledge of or attention to the scholastic Latin with which the compilers were familiar. They have been claimed, sometimes on one side, sometimes on another, as closing questions which they were designed to leave open.

The policy which supplies the key to the meaning of the Articles of Religion pervades the formularies of the English Church in general. A necessary part of it was that a Book of Common Prayer should exist and be authorized which could be used by men who were agreed as to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion and differed about much else. Another necessity was that formularies and system alike should leave very much to the conscience of the individual as to both belief and practice.

The attitude of the Church of England towards Confession affords an instructive illustration of her whole position. In the early Church, Confession was made publicly before the congregation, as a step towards the reconciliation which readmitted to Communion, by those who had committed the gravest sins. In the fifth century, it became customary for the Confession to be made, and the Absolution to be given, privately. Before and after this change in the method of the administration, Confession was often voluntarily made by those who had committed sins less grave than those for which it was required. As time went on, periodical Confession became usual ; and Confession before death came to be recognized as a privilege and a duty. In 1215 the twenty-first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council enacted the rule which was henceforth law in the Western Church, that "All the baptized, men and women alike, so soon as they have reached years of discretion, shall in private confess all their sins faithfully to their own priest, at least once

in the year, and endeavour to perform as fully as they can the penance laid on them." In the Reformation the Church of England, as already mentioned, retained the practice of Confession. She made provision that no one, so far as her rule could secure, should approach Communion or draw near to death without an opportunity for Confession being placed within his reach. She directed her clergy in the most explicit terms to offer to hear the Confessions of those whose consciences were troubled by sin. Having done this, she threw the responsibility for the use or the disuse of the provision thus made upon the people. She no longer insisted, as the Church of the Middle Ages had insisted, that all her children, as a condition of remaining in the possession of Christian privileges, should have recourse to Confession. She left the communicant to decide whether he might rightly receive Communion without previous Confession; she left the sick man to determine whether he could meet the approach of death without the Absolution to which a Confession made with a penitent heart would entitle him. She considered that she had done her part when she had commanded her clergy to see that every communicant and every sick man should have the opportunity of confessing his sins and receiving Absolution. She ran the risks, and she hoped for the benefits, of leaving momentous decisions to the responsibility of those whom they chiefly concerned.

Another instance may be seen in the teaching about the Holy Communion. By the twenty-eighth Article of Religion the clergy were compelled to repudiate the Zwinglian doctrine that "the Supper of the Lord is" "only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another." They were also obliged to deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation, apparently in the sense of a material change of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. They were required to affirm that in Communion there is for those who "rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive" the consecrated elements, "a partaking of the body of Christ" and "of the blood of Christ;" and to declare that the "manner" in which "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten" is "heavenly and spiritual." In the Catechism,

ordered "to be learned of every person before he be brought to be confirmed by the bishop," it was taught that "the body and blood of Christ" "are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Thus, clergy and laity alike were committed to the belief that those who communicate worthily receive the body and blood of Christ in their Communion. This implied for both what was explicitly required from the clergy, the rejection of the Zwinglian opinion that the Sacrament is merely a sign. In addition, the clergy were required to reject Transubstantiation, at any rate in its coarser and more material form. For clergy and laity alike, while an assertion of the reality of the presence of the body and blood of Christ was explicitly required, there was no condemnation of those who hesitated to say that this presence was to be recognized before or apart from Communion. The office provided for the administration of the Holy Communion followed the same lines. It supposes in all its parts that the gift in Communion is the body and blood of our Lord. In the Exhortation which the priest is directed to use "at the time of the celebration of the Communion," it is said, "The benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament; for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink His blood." But putting aside the somewhat differing positions of the Prayer-book of 1549 and that of 1552, the Books of 1559, 1604, and 1662, while they perhaps most naturally suggest that the sacramental presence of our Lord is vouchsafed at the consecration, can be used without strain to the conscience by those who only believe that the faithful communicants receive the body and blood of Christ, and by those who believe also that the bread and wine, by virtue of the consecration and before Communion, are His body and His blood.¹

It may be worth while to give one other instance of the policy of comprehension adopted by the English Church. The preface to the ordinal already quoted affirmed the fact that the historical ministry of the Church is an episcopal ministry. Further, it secured that none but the episcopally ordained should

¹ See Appendix C, p. 55.

minister in the Church of England. Yet the Articles of Religion fell short of requiring the rejection of speculative opinions as to the non-necessity of episcopacy. The clergy were required in the thirty-sixth Article to allow the sufficiency of the new Ordinal, and to declare that it did not contain "anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly." They were required, also, in the twenty-third Article, to repudiate Anabaptist views that a man who felt in himself the call of God might "take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation," apart from any action of those in authority. It was stated in the same Article that ministers must be "lawfully called and sent," and that those are so called and sent "which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." It is obvious, from the Preface to the Ordinal, that those who drew up the Articles meant in their own minds the bishops by "men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation;" but it would be difficult to say that the Article itself contains any condemnation of the view, regarded simply as matter of speculation, that Ordination by some other than a bishop was or might be valid. The treatment of this subject was to some extent similar to the treatment of Confession. In the matter of Confession the Church of England declared the existence of the power of Absolution, and ordered that the clergy should place the opportunity of making Confession and receiving Absolution within reach of their people, without dictating anything as to the use which the people should make of it. In the matter of the ministry, she took pains to secure a succession of episcopally ordained clergy, and that no others should minister within her fold; she declared that, as a matter of fact, the ministry of the Church had always included the episcopal order; she stopped short of requiring a declaration of belief in the absolute necessity of bishops as a speculative opinion apart from any practical act.

Much might be written about the reasons which underlay this policy. In part, perhaps, it was due to a theory that a national Church might be made strong by being made wide,

and to a wish to form a body capable of resisting the onslaughts of Rome. In part, it was the outcome of the necessities which arose from the unsettlement and differences which existed even among those who were agreed as to fundamental doctrines. In part, it bore traces of a desire to be on as friendly terms as possible with foreign Protestants. On its deeper sides it gave effect to an unwillingness to trouble tender consciences by requiring from them more than the laws of Christ demanded, and was a means of maintaining "the hope of being allowed," to quote the Bishop of Oxford's words, "through faith and toil and patience, to bear a special part in forwarding, when and as God wills, His purpose of unity."¹

Doubtless, in the long history of the English Reformation other tendencies were at work. There were many individuals who would fain have seen the English Church committed to a very different line. Among those to whom the policy was due there were many imperfections of character, of knowledge, of strength. The movement had its cowards and its time-servers, and the men who were tried beyond what they could bear, as well as calm and learned and far-sighted divines. But, whatever the wishes or the powers of any individuals may have been, the official action of the English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth, and James I., and Charles I., and Charles II. remained true to the principles which have been described.

A plausible case might have been made out for policies differing in more directions than one from that actually adopted by the Church of England. It might have been said that, in view of some lines of thought in the Middle Ages, of some results of the Renaissance, and of some aspects of the Reformation, it was a mistake to commit the National Church to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation which the Universal Church had made matters of faith, or to the literal truth of such facts as the birth of our Lord from a virgin, and the resurrection of His body from the tomb. It might have been said that, because of certain exceptional positions in past history and of great movements then taking place among Protestants abroad,

¹ Paget, *An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 227.

it was not well to exclude from the ministry all except those who had received episcopal ordination. On the other hand, it might have been said that to leave the practice of confession to the conscience of individuals, or to allow more than one theory of the Eucharistic presence, or to abstain from condemning those who hesitated explicitly to affirm the absolute necessity of episcopacy to a valid ministry, was to play with truth and to compromise religion. For good or for evil, or perhaps partly for the one and partly for the other, the Church of England set aside such arguments as these, and held to her own course of clear assertion of central truth, of emphatic rejection of the supremacy of the Pope, of comprehending within her communion many who on subsidiary matters, some of them of very great importance, widely differed.

V.

IN her re-affirmation of the Creeds, the Church of England speaks with the voice of the Universal Church. Her declaration of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the resurrection of the dead, of future judgment, and of eternal life, as being the repetition of the decrees of the whole Christian body, has Œcumenical authority. There is like authority for the doctrine of "one Baptism for the remission of sins," since that also has its place in the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed.

Where the Church of England is not simply repeating what the Universal Church has said, her authority is of a different kind. As a true part of the Church of Christ, possessing an apostolic ministry, holding the central truths of the Christian Faith, living in sacramental union with our Lord, indwelt by the Holy Ghost, under the government of God the Father, she has a right to speak to her own children. She would, indeed, pass the limits of her authority if she should contravene the teaching of Holy Scripture, or if she should require the affirmation of any doctrine which the Universal Church has rejected, or the rejection of any doctrine which the Universal Church has affirmed, the adoption of any practice which the Church as a whole has condemned, or the condemnation of that to which the Church as a whole is committed. Within her limits, as a true part of the Church, but still a part not the whole, she gives authority for her own members to her own utterances. As the teaching and decisions of a part of the body, what she says on her own authority must always have a tentative element and fall short of finality. Yet, while it remains, those within her fold are bound to regard it.

This real authority of the Church of England would be set at nought, if her doctrines should be denied or her commands disobeyed. To deny the deity of the Holy Ghost, or that Christ was born of a Virgin, or that the faithful communicant spiritually eats the flesh of Christ and drinks His blood, or that the baptized infant is regenerate, or that married persons are joined together by God and cannot be put asunder by man, or that our Lord has left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, and has committed the authority for the exercise of this gift of Absolution to His priests, would be to repudiate the teaching of the English Church. For a priest or deacon to neglect the public or private saying of the Morning and Evening Prayer, when he is not hindered by illness or some other urgent cause (that is, some pressing and unforeseen cause, interrupting his ordinary plan for his day's work), or to substitute the offices of the Roman Breviary for those of the Prayer-book in his private recitation, or for a priest to alter the Order of Holy Baptism so as to omit or modify the references to the regeneration of the child baptized, or to celebrate the Holy Communion without Collect, or Epistle, or Gospel, or Creed, or Prayer for the Church Militant, or to omit or mutilate the *Quicumque vult*, or to substitute in public worship in an ordinary parish church the Latin for the English language, or to use the service of the Roman Missal instead of that in the Book of Common Prayer, would be to disobey her commands.

It might, perhaps, be contended that the relation of the Church of England to the State, and the interference or influence of the State in her affairs at various times, and her own policy of comprehension, have caused her to forfeit any claim to obedience, except so far as she is repeating dictates of the Universal Church. Such a claim will hardly bear to be looked at in the light of facts. The undivided Church, the Churches of the East, and the Church of Rome, have all, at one time or another, been in strange relations to the State, and have had to suffer much influence or interference on the part of the State. If such circumstances are wholly destructive to Church authority, it is difficult to see what Church authority can have existed

since the fourth century. A wise student of history would not deny elements of anomaly in the Church of England; but neither would he fail to see anomalies elsewhere, and to recognize that "the course of Church history has not run" "in the course which theories would have prescribed to it."¹ Whatever criticisms may or may not be passed fairly on the policy of comprehension, it must, at least, be remembered that together with it was the clear and unfaltering statement of all those truths which the Universal Church by conciliar decree had declared binding on Christians. And, indeed, there are many subjects as to which the allowance of speculative opinions and differing schools of thought, alike in the Church of the Middle Ages and in the modern Church of Rome, would come under the condemnation which might be passed by some on the Church of England for her action in other matters.

Or, again, it might be alleged that the English Church had really failed to act on her own principles of appeal to Holy Scripture and the primitive and undivided Church. In particular, it might be said that the absence of explicit prayers for the departed, and of prayers to God for the intercessions of the saints,² makes her Order of Holy Communion very different from the ancient Liturgies; and that the lack of any clear assertion of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is out of harmony with all that is known of historical Christianity. Certainly, those who have learnt to value the theology and devotion of the ancient Church cannot but regret that a number of causes, of which not the least was a reaction from abuses, prevented clear prayers for the departed, a more definite recognition of the Communion of Saints, and an express assertion of the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist from finding place in the formularies of the Church of England. Such regret, however, is a very different thing from a supposition that these defects are destructive of all authority. As the Bishop of Worcester said, in a somewhat different context, "The defectiveness of the formularies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (granting them to be not heretical) are no more to us—except in the way of temporary

¹ Church, *Pascal and Other Sermons*, p. 93.

² See Appendix D, p. 55.

inconvenience—than the defectiveness of the formularies of any other particular moment of the Church's life.”¹

Or, further, it might be maintained that, whatever the theological position of the Book of Common Prayer may be, the practical outcome of the system of the Church of England was to substitute attendance at the Morning and Evening Prayer for presence at the Holy Eucharist as the ordinary act of Christian worship, and that in this there was a most serious departure from the historical methods of the Church. If such an argument be brought forward, it is fair to observe that the Reformers had to deal with the grievous abuse by which Communion once a year had come to be regarded as ideal, a view the wrongfulness of which was recognized by the Council of Trent. In dealing with the abuse, they seem to have imagined that people in general could be brought at once from yearly to frequent Communion. That rubrics drawn up in view of this should, in fact, have led to a lamentable decrease in the number of days on which the Eucharist was celebrated, and to terrible neglect of the Eucharistic Service altogether, cannot be denied. This circumstance, however, was due rather to want of wisdom in dealing with a real abuse than to any other cause. And the prohibition of the presence of even “gazers” at the Eucharist without Communion placed in the Prayer-book of 1552 was struck out at the revision in 1661.

If it be true that mistakes were made in the general policy of the Church of England during the Reformation period, it is well to aim at correcting those mistakes by means which are right. If it be true that there are imperfections in the carrying out of the policy, it is well to move towards remedying those imperfections by wise and well-considered plans. But no hope of solid progress or of real amendment can be based on wilful and calculated disregard of the authority of the English Church on the part of those who remain and minister within her fold.

It is as the English Church, on the lines which her own history has made possible, is raised to the highest perfection that the prospect of her reunion with the rest of the Church is strongest. It is as most regard is paid to her lawful authority

¹ Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims*, pp. 179, 180 (edition 7).

that she will be in the best position for meeting the responsibilities which she has, in ever-increasing measure, to the national life, to colonies and dependencies, to foreign missions. To depreciate her history and cast scorn on her rule is to lessen her capacity for the great part she may well play, if her own progress be on sure foundations, in Christendom. It would be nothing short of criminal to throw away the opportunities which may be hers by impatience, or recklessness, or insolence, or sloth.

Rarely, if ever, has the true attitude of members of the Church of England been better expressed than in the words of Archbishop Bramhall—

“No man can justly blame me for honouring my spiritual mother, the Church of England, in whose womb I was conceived, at whose breasts I was nourished, and in whose bosom I hope to die. Bees, by the instinct of nature, do love their hives, and birds their nests. But God is my witness that, according to my uttermost talent and poor understanding, I have endeavoured to set down the naked truth impartially, without either favour or prejudice, the two capital enemies of right judgment—the one of which, like a false mirror, doth represent things fairer and straighter than they are; the other, like the tongue infected with choler, makes the sweetest meat to taste bitter. My desire hath been to have truth for my chiefest end, and no enemy but error. If I have had any bias, it hath been desire of peace, which our common Saviour left as a legacy to His Church, that I might live to see the reunion of Christendom, for which I shall always bow the ‘knees of my heart’ to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is not impossible that this desire of unity may have produced some unwilling error of love, but certainly I am most free from the wilful love of error. In questions of an inferior nature, Christ regards a charitable intention much more than a right opinion.

“Howsoever it be, I submit myself and my poor endeavours, first, to the judgment of the Catholic Œcumenical essential Church, which, if some of late days have endeavoured to hiss out of the schools as a fancy, I cannot help it. From the beginning it was not so. And if I should mistake the right Catholic Church out of human frailty or ignorance (which, for

my part, I have no reason in the world to suspect, yet it is not impossible when the Romanists themselves are divided into five or six several opinions what this Catholic Church, or what their infallible judge, is), I do implicitly and in the preparation of my mind submit myself to the true Catholic Church, the spouse of Christ, the mother of the saints, the 'pillar of truth.' And seeing my adherence is firmer to the infallible rule of faith, that is, the Holy Scriptures interpreted by the Catholic Church, than to mine own private judgment or opinions, although I should unwittingly fall into an error, yet this cordial submission is an implicit retractation thereof, and, I am confident, will be so accepted by the Father of Mercies both from me and all others who seriously and sincerely do seek after peace and truth.

"Likewise, I submit myself to the representative Church, that is, a free general council, or so general as can be procured, and, until then, to the Church of England, wherein I was baptized, or to a national English synod ; to the determination of all which, and each of them respectively, according to the distinct degrees of their authority, I yield a conformity and compliance, or, at the least, and to the lowest of them, an acquiescence." ¹

¹ Bramhall, *A Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon* (*Works, Anglo-Catholic Library*, ii. 21, 22).

VI.

A BELIEF in the truth and office of the English Church has a more important bearing on the progress of the world and on the development of Christianity than at first sight we might suppose. It is no light matter to view with suspicion and ill-concealed contempt that great mass of Christianity which is represented at the Lambeth Episcopal Conferences, and which stands out as the predominant and accredited religion of the whole English-speaking race. It is no light matter again to represent as tainted and corrupt the stream which is now flowing in gathering volume towards the parched land of heathendom, and to condemn missionary effort in its very inception. Has not the time come when the apologist may be asked to take at least a secondary place? What is there to be ashamed of in the English Church of to-day in addition to or beyond that which must fill every Christian nation, whether in the West or East, with shame and confusion of face? Nothing is easier than to set up an arbitrary standard other than the standard proposed by the English Church herself, and so magnify into shortcomings the absence of that which there has been no conscious desire to retain.

"Our unhappy division" is the first spot where the plague of disaffection generally betrays itself. But where the rest of the Western Church has drawn the line exceedingly low down, specifying every detail of belief with extreme strictness and minute precaution, we have seen that the Church of England has drawn the line, for good or for evil, exceedingly high. With her the malcontents and half-believers are included by reason of that portion of the truth which they possess; elsewhere they are excluded on discovery, or mutter from within in

suppressed discontent. The Biography of Cardinal Manning by Mr. Purcell must have opened the eyes of many as to the deep currents of divergence, even in vital matters, which underlie the smooth surface of Roman Catholicism. And the large body of malcontents outside—in France, Italy, and Spain—have souls for which Christ died and claims on the Church which are not shuffled off by persistent excommunication. A wide, perhaps lax, policy of inclusion is not to be judged by a strict policy of inclusion. Both have their merits, both have their difficulties and defects, but the aim in each case is different.

Is the Church of England deficient in any necessary doctrine, which can be tested by the Catholic standard of undivided Christendom, her own formularies, not individual opinions, being judges? No one can seriously attempt to say so.

Is it, then, in her practice, her failures, her deadness, her obvious deficiency in Catholic attributes, that the blame lies?

Here, again, if the eye could be turned away from a minute investigation of supposed defects to the patient discovery of palpable virtues, there could be little cause for discontent, and none for alarm.

It seems to be a strange characteristic of the Englishman to take delight in disparaging his country in the eyes of a foreigner. In the same way it would seem to be the natural impulse of the average Catholic Englishman to disparage his National Church in comparison with the rest of Christendom.

But this is neither healthy nor generous; and, in view of the spread of Christianity, it is disastrous.

In the first place, it is difficult to shake off a feeling that the hope of individual salvation may be pressed with something akin to spiritual selfishness. In a large question which concerns the welfare of millions, there is need of something of the spirit of S. Paul, or even of Moses, in thinking of the general salvation first, and individual safety second. Few people can really believe that their salvation is imperilled by a continuance in those spiritual surroundings which God has given them in the English Church.

After all, if "Catholic" is an essential and exclusive attribute

of the true "Church," so is holiness. The history of the Jews in their great apostasy is a vivid exposition of the danger of trusting to privilege, and of the folly of believing that it avails a man to repose in the ship of salvation, if he is stricken with a mortal disease.

Neither, at least to a generous spirit, can the inherited troubles and the constantly recurring difficulties which beset English Catholicism be anything else but a call to render support to a cause made only more interesting by the persistent obstacles and envenomed assaults which hinder it in its efforts to realize its ideal—that ideal with which "the English Reformation ventured on its tremendous undertaking—the attempt to make the Church theologically, politically, socially different, while keeping it historically and essentially the same."¹

But the claims to our love and devotion lie deeper than any of those yet indicated.

The Church of England has displayed a wonderful power of influence over the imagination and the energies of the nation, and has proved herself a true mother in the nourishment and development of the saintly life in those who have yielded themselves in love and obedience to her training and guidance.

English people, as a rule, believe in what they pay for. It may be well, therefore, to notice that at a moment when much is being said about the cleavage between the clergy and the laity, the latest annual return of the voluntary offerings of the Church of England exhibits the amount of nearly £2,310,000 as the sum contributed to central and diocesan societies and institutions (including home and foreign missions). But the total raised locally and left for administration in the hands of the parochial clergy is more than £5,907,000.²

This, however, is of secondary importance as compared with other and more significant indications.

Why has the National Church not succumbed again and again to the pressure of corruption, worldliness, and indifference which have proved the death of institutions and even nations which have been false to the principles of righteousness and

¹ Church, *Pascal and Other Sermons*, p. 66.

² See "Loyalty to the Prayer-book," *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1903, p. 58.

truth? Canon MacColl has quoted, in an address delivered by him in 1883, a description of the condition of the Church of England of fifty years previous, as given by a great statesman, presumably Mr. Gladstone, who had himself observed it. "The Church of England," he says, "had been passing through a long period of deep and chronic religious lethargy. For many years, perhaps for generations, Christendom might have been challenged to show, either then or from any former age, a clergy (with exceptions) so secular and lax, or congregations so cold, irreverent, and indevout. The process of awakening had, indeed, begun many years before; but a very long time is required to stir up effectually a torpid body whose dimensions overspread a great country. Active piety and zeal among the clergy, and yet more among the laity, had been in a great degree confined within the limits of a party, which however meritorious in its work, presented in the main phenomena of transition, and laid but little hold on the higher intellect and cultivation of the country. . . . The condition of the Church of England at that time could not possibly bear the scrutinizing eye which for thirty years past has been turned upon our institutions. Her rank corruption must have called down the avenging arm. But it was arrested in time."

Let any one read again the accounts of the state of the Church of England in the time of Bishop Butler, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when to some men Christianity seemed to be a played-out force. What in each case has brought about the revival, each revival marking an advance, but the inherent life which remains in a branch which has not been severed from the true vine?

Even more than this, although this recuperative power is full of evidential value, we have been allowed to see in our own immediate times how deeply the love of the Church is embedded in the English nation underneath much surface apathy and indifference.

The Englishmen of our own times have had the faith and courage to establish two religious foundations at Oxford and Cambridge, in an age when the tide might seem to be setting towards secularism.

The same age has witnessed a large increase in the Anglican episcopate, the foundation of one cathedral at the cost of £160,000 at Truro, with the promise of yet another at Liverpool; while the enthronement of a new archbishop or bishop in his episcopal seat is made the occasion of public rejoicing on a wide and representative scale.

To these indications of the position which the English Church occupies in the lives and interests of the people, may be added the fact that, during the tension of the late South African war, it was to the Church that the people looked, in the day of their tribulation and in the day of their joy, to express their sorrows and their joys before the Throne of Almighty God. Looking again at the long and illustrious line of Christian laymen, theologians, learned, devoted, and distinguished men, who have adorned the English Church, we can only say, God forbid that I should sell the inheritance of my fathers, or do anything to betray a great tradition.

But, after all, it is chiefly as the Mother of Saints and as the guardian of Christian holiness that the Church appeals to the piety of her children.

Cardinal Newman's impassioned and pathetic lament is emphatically not true, and his own life is a witness to its untruth: "O my Mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and barest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their service, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom, and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee to have 'a miscarrying womb and dry breasts'?"¹ True it is that there are few laments in history so sad, few mistakes so tragic as the coldness and suspicion which paved the way for the irreparable loss of this great soul to the English Church. And yet who shall say, when comparing the work done, the words uttered, the heights achieved, before and after the crisis which severed the man's life in twain, that these words are not true of the English Church whom

¹ Newman, *The Parting of Friends* (Sermons on Subjects of the Day), p. 407.

surely he never ceased to love, "I girded thee, though thou hast not known Me"?¹

We of this generation can never forget the lives of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Dean Church, Dr. Liddon, and others which we have been privileged to see. It is incredible that such holiness should have been developed by a stupendous spiritual energy which enabled them to derive sustenance from the veriest husks, and the rewards of faith from a lifelong participation in error.

It was noticed by one who was present at the opening of the Chapel at Keble College in 1876, that it would have been impossible to find in any other part of Christendom a body of men more conspicuous for holiness and learning, and more distinguished in other ways, than those who there gathered to give glory to God for the life and influence of the author of the *Christian Year*.

Neither need the Church of England be ashamed as she counts up her worthies, and says, "This and that man was born there;" missionaries such as Martyn and Patteson and Smythies; theologians such as Bishop Lightfoot and Bishop Westcott; poets, artists, musicians, and humble men who have built up the wall of Jerusalem in town and village, through evil report and good report. These have all worked together with God, and commended themselves in their work as the ministers of God in humble gratitude to Him that He has made them citizens of no mean city, and given them a lot in so fair a ground, a portion in so goodly a heritage.

It may be that the assault will gather in bitterness and sweep down on the Church of England. Her sons may betray their posts, her enemies may strip and rob her of her faith and her glorious privileges, and send her out into the wilderness robbed and spoiled. But if so, the enemy will have to reckon with the vast band of faithful souls who cling to their Church with a desperate devotion.

There are hundreds and thousands to-day whom no controversy can shake, and no inroads of error move from their integrity. Fed with the Sacraments, they are incapable of

¹ Isa. xlv. 5.

believing themselves to be the victims of a long delusion, and to have received no other gift than that which is promised to all earnest faith. Brought up and planted in the house of the Lord, their lives have grown up into the old familiar services, and even the austere simplicity which a lighter age can only view with scorn and weariness.

There are penitents restored, blind who have recovered their sight, deaf whose ears are unstopped, and dumb who sing, who simply receive with impatience that which gives the lie to all their glad experience; with the blind man of the Gospel, they repeat with obstinate and provoking pertinacity, in the face of arguments which should have convinced, and refutations which should have destroyed, the illogical conclusion of a stubborn conviction, "Whether He be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."¹

But there are other issues involved, even deeper if possible and more important than these. It has already been pointed out in these pages that no one who calls himself a Christian may rest satisfied, so long as that ideal of God, the reunion of Christendom, is unrealized. And it is not chimerical to believe that a great future may yet be open to the English Church, as a rallying-point, in ages yet to come, of possible reunion.

But no reunion will be possible if any or all of the uniting bodies lose their individuality and their value. Absorption of the weaker by the stronger may at any time be possible at the price of stultification and loss, but this is not the reunion which we desire or expect. In the life of the individual, a sure way to lose excellence and to sink in the moral scale is to be unnatural, and to affect to be something which God has not made him, and apparently not intended him to be. It is the common lament of archæologists and of those who understand the real value of history, and even the multiform developments of art, that in the restoration *furore* of the Victorian era so many churches were irreparably damaged by being stripped of their own characteristic features, many of them bound up in an interesting and important past, in deference to the demands of a passing fashion; and, losing their own special interest and

¹ S. John ix. 25.

value, they became bad examples of a pseudo-mediaevalism, badly understood and worse executed. The parable is obvious : A man who is interesting for what he is, and for what God has made him, becomes a meaningless imitation if he is simply one *addictus jurare in verba magistri*. Being born an original, he dies a copy. A building which is an interesting example of an historical development or of a special style of architecture may be scraped and altered into a commonplace example of a prevailing fashion. So, if we could but recognize the fact, the Church of England has a character of her own, in parting with which she parts with a valuable possession. A Liturgy in the vernacular, popularized choir offices, a copious use of the Bible, an appeal to the intellectual rather than to the emotional side of man—to mention only a few obvious things—if frankly accepted, would be found to be features full of significance, and wholly excellent ; while if, on the other hand, they are slurred over and scraped into a Roman fashion, they will be found to lose all their own excellence, and remain to the end only bad imitations. The use of Latin in the public service, or of English made unintelligible, only renders the English rite ridiculous ; and an embroidery of emotional devotion thrown over the stern outline of the Anglican formularies only renders the one more contemptible and the other grotesque. A bad Anglican does not make a good Roman, nor will a mutilated or farced rite ever exhibit anything but a hybrid incongruity.

We are often told that reunion will only be brought about by a frank recognition of our errors all round ; it would also be true to say, by a generous recognition of our various points of excellence. As it is, the tendency is to count all Anglican virtues to be errors, and all Roman errors to be virtues, and to imagine that Christendom is to be reunited by the total disappearance of that body which for centuries has endeavoured to make an appeal to primitive antiquity as the only basis of reunion, and which, among all the taunts levelled against isolation, has refused the *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, without its balancing *quod semper*.

If any one thinks that we are going to slip into reunion by a diligent and individual adoption of modern continental

developments of doctrine and practice, it would be well that he should study again the Reply of "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church of the East to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Reunion," published in 1895. In its twenty-fourth section we read, "Oh ye peoples of the glorious lands of the West, lovers of Christ, we rejoice seeing that you are filled with Christian zeal, and are guided by the conviction that without the faith of Christ it is impossible to please God. Yet it is manifest to all right-minded men that the faith which saves in Christ must be that which is true, and in accord with the Scriptures and with Apostolical tradition in all respects; for on that is founded the teaching of the Fathers and of the diversely assembled Œcumenical Councils. It is likewise manifest that the Universal Church of God, which retains within her this one saving faith, unadulterated and entire, as an inheritance from God, such as it was bequeathed and formulated of old by the divine Fathers during the first nine centuries—that Church is for ever one, not manifold or changing with time. For Gospel truths do not admit of variation and development, in the manner of the various worldly systems of philosophy—'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;' but, as we have already seen, the Western Church, from the tenth century onward, introduced into the Church by the acts of the papacy various heretical teachings and strange innovations, thus severing herself away and afar from the Orthodox Church of Christ. Turn away from them, and return henceforth to the bosom of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolical Church of God, which is made up of the several Holy Churches of the orthodox universe, planted by the hand of God, in the manner of vineyards, bearing good fruit, and bound inseparably together in the unity of the saving faith of Christ and in the spirit of peace."¹

It will be seen that an exclusive looking to the modernized West will not aid the cause of reunion, except with those who are prepared to put out of view altogether the unchanging East, whose face is steadfastly set towards primitive antiquity.

It would be wrong and unfaithful, in view of what God has

¹ Published by H. E. Bumpus, Ltd., pp. 14, 15.

done for us already, if any one allowed himself to be disheartened by a temporary failure, or a passing abandonment of ideals. The spirit of Catholicism must be invoked to drive out individualism, the spirit of whole-hearted loyalty to drive out that form of apology which means treachery, and that form of imitation which sacrifices original worth ; and then the wisdom of God, which is justified of all her children, will be clear and manifest in His dealings with the English people and the English Church.

APPENDIX A

MEMORANDUM AGREED UPON AT A MEETING OF CLERGY HELD IN LONDON, MAY 2, 1898.

IN view of the grave anxiety occasioned by certain developments of worship in the Church of England, we desire to draw the attention of our brethren to the following statement.

There are certain principles, adherence to which, as we think, will alone enable us to maintain what has been gained in the late revival of religion, and to secure healthy conditions of future progress.

The chief difficulties with which we have had to contend hitherto have been in securing those Catholic privileges which, while they obviously and certainly belonged to us, had been overlaid and forgotten in past years of apathy and neglect.

In the recovery of these we gratefully acknowledge the part which individual action has played, where men have had the courage to act and to suffer in order to secure their undoubted rights as churchmen.

We recognize that such action arose chiefly from a desire to be united with other parts of the Church in witness to Catholic doctrine, but it was limited to the securing of what seemed fairly within the bounds of the authoritative sanctions and traditions of the English Church.

On the other hand, our chief difficulties at the present time arise out of a return to certain practices which were explicitly or by implication abolished at the Reformation, or out of a resort to certain foreign developments which never had any footing in the English Church.

I.

This being so, we wish in the first place, without expressing an opinion as to the desirableness or the contrary of all or any such revivals and adaptations, to declare that in our view developments of this kind cannot be rightly introduced except by, or under the sanction of, authority. And in saying this we are only asserting the fundamental truth, that subjection to authority is a first principle of Catholicism.

II.

We wish therefore, in the second place, to set forth what we hold to be the authority by which we are bound in respect of rites and ceremonies which are lawfully variable, and the organs through which that authority finds expression.

1. The immediate authority with which, as English churchmen, we have to do is that of the English Church, not that of the Roman or the Gallican or any other Church. However warm may be our interest in those Churches, as individual English Catholics we no more look, or ought to look, to the authority of the Roman or of the Gallican Church, than an Italian or a French Catholic looks, or ought to look, to the authority of the English Church.

2. It follows that nothing can have valid ecclesiastical authority for English churchmen which the English Church has never received or authorized.

3. It follows also that, while confessedly the Church of England is bound in respect of doctrine by continuous Catholic consent and Œcumenic decrees, no variable rite or ceremony can have valid authority for English churchmen which the English Church has definitely repudiated, whether explicitly or by implication, even though it may at one time have had the authority of that Church.

4. Nor can it be claimed that disciplinary rules or usages, merely because they have for a time obtained in other parts of the Church, or in all the Churches of the West, or even throughout the whole Church, have thereby acquired for themselves the authority of the Catholic Church in such a sense that a national Church cannot set them aside for her own members.

5. Authority expresses itself, in the English Church as elsewhere, through the bishops, jointly and severally. *Jointly*, the English bishops speak with the authority of the Church when, after concordant legislation by the Convocations of the two provinces,¹ a canon or other synodical act is promulgated. Also by the custom of the Church of England all synodical legislation requires the previous consent of the clergy through their representatives in the Lower Houses of the Convocations. *Severally*, the English bishops speak with the authority of the Church when, within the limits of the system of law and custom received by the Church of England, in the exercise of their pastoral charge they give instructions, directions, and permissions to any or all of those under their jurisdiction.

¹ We have thought it needless to refer to the case of a single province promulgating an enactment, since in England at the present time the case does not occur.

III.

Whereas doubts have been raised as to what is precisely meant by the words of the Declaration of Assent made by every priest before entering on his ministry, viz. "I assent to . . . the Book of Common Prayer and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, . . . and in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said Book prescribed and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority:" we desire to say that we hold that by the acceptance of the terms of this Declaration—

1. We pledge ourselves to the use of the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer as opposed to the omission of them.

2. We pledge ourselves to the use of them as the positive and sufficient rule and order of the ministrations of the Church for which they are provided, as opposed to modifications of them, whether by change, addition, or omission, except in so far as such modifications may be enjoined or allowed by lawful authority.

3. We are not debarred from using any prayers that we may desire to use for our own edification, provided that they be inaudible and be confined within the limits of the necessary and customary pauses in the rite.

In so interpreting the obligation we have accepted, we are only acknowledging that we stand in the same position as the clergy in other parts of the Catholic Church; since nowhere, so far as we are aware, is it allowed to the clergy to depart from the formularies of worship imposed by authority.

In fact, in virtue of provisions made by authority or of sanctioned custom, the English clergy already enjoy considerable liberty. We refer to the customary freedom in respect of Anthems and Hymns, and to the provisions embodied in the Act of 1872 for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity. But with regard to the last, it may be pointed out that the liberty therein allowed is much more strictly limited than is perhaps commonly supposed, and affords no justification for the promiscuous introduction of obsolete or novel usages on the part of individuals.¹ We express no opinion as to the formal spiritual validity

¹ 1. Modifications are permitted only in the Orders of Morning and Evening Prayer, and these only in accordance with prescribed rules.

2. These modifications are not allowed to be made on Sundays and the greater Holy days, except in a second additional recitation of the service.

3. The additional services, allowed with the approval of the Ordinary in accordance with the provisions embodied in the Act, may not include "any portion of the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion or anything, except anthems or hymns, which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures or the Book of Common Prayer."

In other words, these provisions, while allowing of considerable freedom in the

of this Act ; we only refer to it as conceding a liberty which no one will seriously challenge.

And over and above the specific liberties which are secured by legislation, there is the right of the bishop under the limitations which the collective action of the episcopate and statute law have imposed upon him, to sanction additional services for use within his jurisdiction.

We do not hold that the Ornaments Rubric, in enjoining "that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of *England*, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King *Edward* the Sixth," thereby allows all the ornaments in use before the publication of the Prayer-book of 1549 to be employed for all the purposes for which they were formerly in use, so as in effect to reinstate all the ceremonies then observed. This does not seem to us to be an equitable or reasonable interpretation of the rubric. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer definitely speaks of some "ceremonies" as "abolished." Without desiring to put too narrow a construction upon it, we hold that the rubric directs that the ornaments required for the due execution of the rites contained in the Book of Common Prayer shall be those which were used for the like purposes at the date assigned.

In making the above statement, our aim is not to dictate to our brethren or to dissociate ourselves from any of them, but only to lay down the principles on which we ourselves feel bound to act, and to affirm our conviction that it is only by the strict recognition of such principles that we can hold what we have, or reach forward to what God may have in store for us.

JAMES BADEN-POWELL, Precentor of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge.

CHARLES BODINGTON, Canon of Lichfield.

GEORGE BODY, Canon of Durham.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN, Pusey Librarian.

ARTHUR BRINCKMAN, Chaplain of S. Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street.

R. RHODES BRISTOW, Rector of S. Olave's and Canon Missioner of S. Saviour's, Southwark ; Hon. Canon of Rochester, and Proctor in Convocation for the Diocese of Rochester.

treatment of the Divine Service on week-days and in the use of additional services, at the same time exclude any freedom in the treatment of other services, and in particular exclude any modification of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion ; and while confirming the customary freedom in respect of the use of anthems and hymns, at the same time do not allow of their use as interruptions of the order of the Book of Common Prayer, but only at points where the structure of that order admits of them—a limitation fully expounded, in relation to a particular hymn, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's judgment in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln.

It may be worth while to remark, that possible abuses in respect of the contents of hymns and anthems cannot be considered from the point of view of ritual, but only from that of doctrine.

- C. E. BROOKE, Vicar of S. John the Divine, Kennington.
 W. F. COBB, Assistant Secretary of the English Church Union.
 V. S. S. COLES, Principal of the Pusey House.
 W. E. COLLINS, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London.
 HUGH P. CURRIE, Principal of the Theological College and Prebendary of Wells.
 THOMAS B. DOVER, Vicar of Malden.
 CHARLES GORE, Canon of Westminster.
 ROBERT GREGORY, Dean of S. Paul's.
 ALFRED GURNEY, Vicar of S. Barnabas, Pimlico.
 W. B. HANKEY, Curate-in-Charge of S. Mary's, Graham Street.
 HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, Canon of S. Paul's.
 ARTHUR T. INGRAM, Rector of S. Margaret's, Lothbury, and Proctor in Convocation for the Diocese of London.
 J. O. JOHNSTON, Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford.
 T. A. LACEY, Vicar of Madingley.
 ROBERT LINKLATER, Vicar of Stroud Green.
 H. MORTIMER LUCKOCK, Dean of Lichfield.
 W. C. E. NEWBOLT, Canon of S. Paul's.
 MONTAGUE H. NOEL, Vicar of S. Barnabas, Oxford.
 C. H. V. PIXELL, Vicar of S. Faith, Stoke Newington.
 F. W. FULLER, of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley.
 R. W. RANDALL, Dean of Chichester.
 B. W. RANDOLPH, Principal of the Theological College and Hon. Canon of Ely.
 R. E. SANDERSON, Canon of Chichester; Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hastings.
 JOHN STORRS, Vicar of S. Peter's, Eaton Square; and Rural Dean.
 A. HANBURY TRACY, Vicar of Frome-Selwood.
 CHARLES F. G. TURNER, Rector of Coveney.
 H. MONTAGUE VILLIERS, Vicar of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge; Prebendary of S. Paul's, and Proctor in Convocation for the Diocese of London.
 W. ALLEN WHITWORTH, Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street.

APPENDIX B

The authors are indebted to Dr. Wickham Legg for calling their attention to the following instances, among others, in which Œcumenical customs have not always been obeyed. The inclusion of relics in altars was ordered by the Seventh Œcumenical Council (A.D. 787); and it directed that any bishop neglecting to secure the observance of this rule was to be deposed (Second Council of Nicæa, canon 7). The Council of Chelsea (A.D. 816) allowed relics to be dispensed with; and the English Pontificals have rubrics which provide for the omission of the inclusion of relics in the consecration of churches. The orientation of churches is nearly as old as Christianity itself. It was universal in

the West till the Middle Ages, and has continued to be universal in the East, among heretics as well as orthodox, till the present time. In the old foundations in Rome itself there is always orientation, whether of the celebrant or of the congregation. Barbier de Monbault says it is still the law of the Church. It is now habitually broken on the continent.

APPENDIX C

The present writers would disagree with much in the Charges of the late Bishop Thirlwall; but a passage in his Charge of 1866, though delivered in circumstances of a former time, is well worth attention.

“The Church of England, on the contrary, has dealt with this subject in a spirit of true reverence, as well as of prudence and charity. She asserts the mystery inherent in the institution of the Sacrament, but abstains from all attempts to investigate it or define it, and leaves the widest range open to the devotional feelings and private meditations of her children with regard to it; and this liberty is so large, and has been so freely used, that apart from the express admission of transubstantiation, or of the grossly carnal notions to which it gave rise, and which, in the minds of the common people, are probably inseparable from it, I think that there can hardly be any description of the Real Presence, which in some sense or other is universally allowed, that would not be found to be authorized by the language of eminent divines of our Church; and I am not aware, and do not believe, that our most advanced Ritualists have, in fact, overstepped these very ample bounds” (Thirlwall, *Remains*, ii. 164).

APPENDIX D

It is of some importance to observe that the form of seeking the intercessions of the saints found in the Liturgies and the Sacramentaries is that of prayer to God. In the present Roman Missal the words used in the Canon of the Mass preserve in this respect the ancient form; they are as follows: “Joining in communion with, and reverencing

the memory of, in the first place, the glorious, ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddæus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all Thy saints; to whose merits and prayers mayest Thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the aid of Thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen." The practice of directly addressing the saints themselves in such forms as "Ora pro nobis," although it was in use in the fourth and fifth centuries in unofficial devotions, was not publicly used in the authorized services of the Church, so far as can be traced, until at any rate the end of the sixth century. This form subsequently became frequent in the litanies. See, *e.g.*, St. Gregory the Great, *Opp.*, iii. 691, 821 (Benedictine Edition); Mabillon, *Anal. Vet.*, 168; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ii. 81; Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 411.

On the whole subject of the invocation of the saints and the attitude of the Church of England in regard to it, see Stone, *The Invocation of Saints*, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co.

THE END.

